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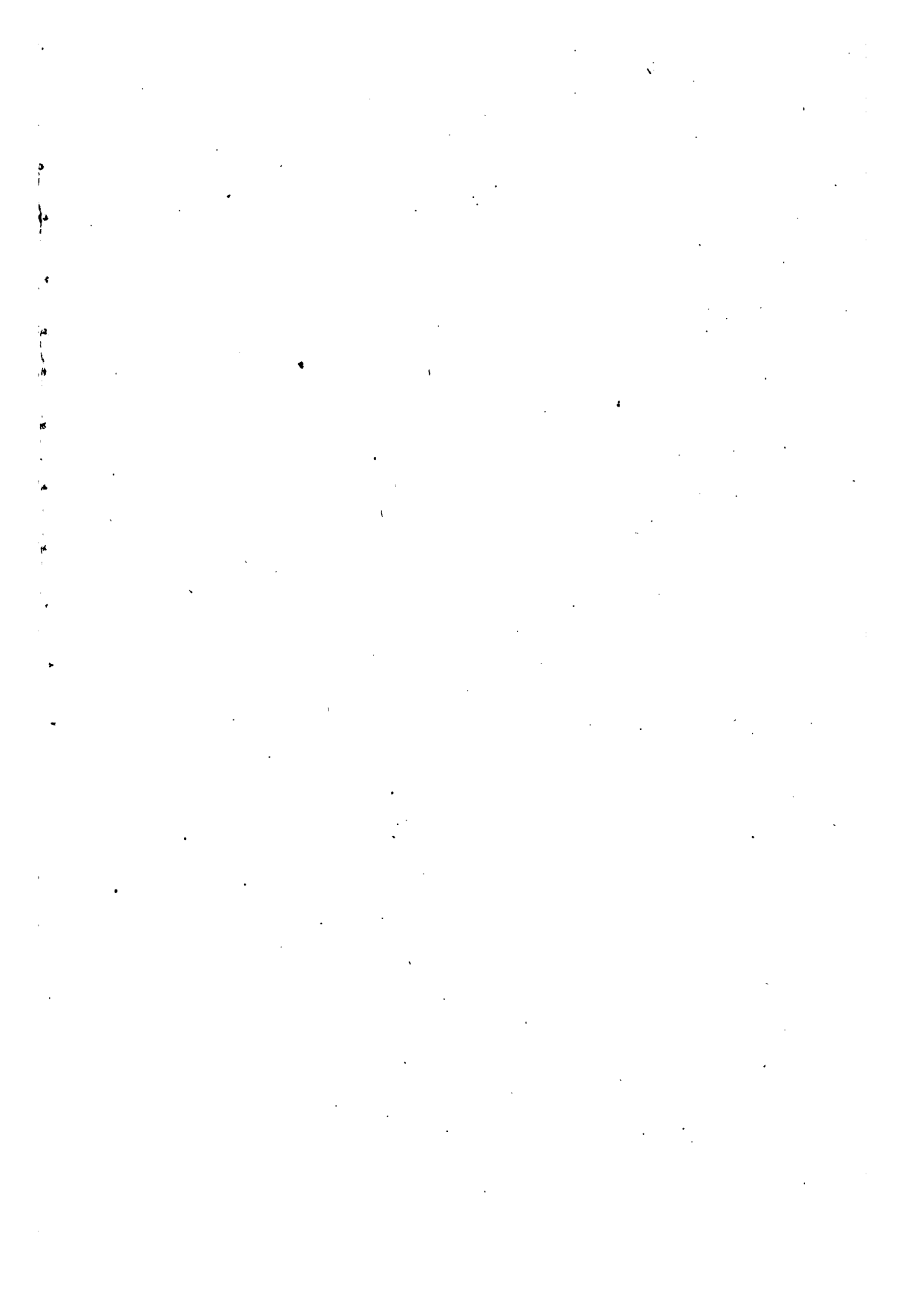


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NATIVE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF CHINESE PICTORIAL ART

BY

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ENGLISH VERSION BY

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The Standard

FOREWORD

The translations used in this monograph were almost all made by Professor Friedrich Hirth and published by him in Germany in a number of different papers some twenty years ago. Though following in the main the arrangement of his essay "Über die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte der chinesischen Malerei," I have introduced some changes and added a few translations that were made with the able assistance of Mr. T. Y. Leo.

A. E. M.

March 10, 1917.

This reprint has been made because of numerous typographical errors in the first edition.

A. E. M.

May 21, 1917.

NATIVE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF CHINESE PICTORIAL ART

Painting as an art in China is much older than the oldest examples which we now know, for we read in the first extensive history of Chinese painting¹ that even in the time of the Emperor Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.) there existed an art cabinet, called Pi-kê, for the collecting of paintings and scrolls of handwriting. By 100 B.C. the mention of portraits is quite common in Chinese literature, though the names of painters are not yet preserved, probably because their productions had as yet no importance *per se*. By 51 B.C. we have such historically accurate accounts as that of the Emperor Hsüan-ti (73 to 49 B.C.) who out of gratitude to his victorious generals had their portraits painted for the Chi-lin-ko, a temple built by Wu-ti in 122 B.C. A few years later painting must have developed freely; for Chang Yen-yüan, referring to a compilation of the 6th century, the *Hsi-ching-tsa-chi*, mentions as many as six painters for the years 43 to 33 B.C. In this same gossip narrative we find the famous and well-authenticated story of the Emperor Yüan (48-32 B.C.), whose harem had grown to such dimensions that he no longer had time to receive in audience all the palace beauties and therefore ordered that their portraits be painted to facilitate the election of the favorite. The bribing of the painters by the court ladies became very common and huge sums were paid by ambitious aspirants to the Emperor's favor. Only the beautiful Wang Ch'iang scorned this method, and as a result her portrait was neglected and did not do her justice. When the Khan of the Tartars asked for a beautiful maiden's hand in marriage, the Emperor, who knew only Wang Ch'iang's portrait, readily gave consent. When he received her in audience and saw how her portrait had belied her loveliness, his rage was such that he immediately ordered the execution of six of the leading court painters, all of whom the history mentions by name.

But it was not until a century later, in the reign of the Emperor Ming-ti (58 to 76 A.D.) that the growing love for the collecting of scroll paintings led to the erection of a special art gallery (Hua-shih).

Chang Yen-yüan, to whom we owe this information, adds that an institution, named Hung-tu-hio, was created, one purpose of which was the collecting of curiosities and works of art, and that it contained art objects representative of the entire known world. Among these art objects there were also paintings, as can be concluded from the further descriptions of his text. Of what nature these paintings were and who

¹ *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi* of Chang Yen-yüan, Chap. 1, p. 3.

painted them, whether they were exclusively by Chinese artists or whether there were foreign ones among them, from Persia, India or Khoten, can not be determined from this text or from contemporary literature. Nevertheless the possibility, not to say probability, of the existence of foreign paintings in Wu-ti's library can be assumed, if, in conjunction with these ancient allusions to a systematic preservation of the paintings in the Imperial possession, we bear in mind the mention by Ssü-ma Ch'ien in the *Shih-chi* of numerous expeditions sent by the Emperor Wu-ti to the West Asiatic countries for the purpose of purchasing art objects of all sorts. It would not be surprising if among the latter there had been West Asiatic, Indian or even some Greek paintings.

In this ancient period we find no attempt at any history of painting, but painting could scarcely have had a "history" at that time. The oldest catalogue of the Imperial Library which forms the bibliographical part of the annals of the early Han dynasty² that ended in the year 25 A.D., contains no title which suggests the existence of any systematic record of the art of painting. On the other hand, in the catalogue of the Imperial Library of the Sui dynasty,³ compiled in 641-656 A.D., there is a title which leaves no doubt that it alludes to a text on the history of art. This work, the *Ming-shou-hua-lu*, in one book, is still mentioned in the catalogue of the T'ang dynasty,⁴ but has been lost since then, and its contents have been incorporated in later more extensive treatises. A similar fate befell a number of other early histories of art whose enumeration would lead us too far afield but which, we must conclude, served as a basis for later historical and critical treatises that are still in existence. Even the number of works still at our disposal is so large that it is possible to enumerate only the most important.

THE LI-TAI-MING-HUA-CHI

The principal source for the very oldest account of painting in China is the *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi*, in ten volumes, written by Chang Yen-yüan, the great art historian of the ninth century. This is not by any means the oldest, but it is one of the oldest technical treatises that we now possess. For the practical student of Chinese art it is especially important because in rough outline it gives an insight into the history of painting from earliest times to the year 841 A.D. The author was a member of a famous and aristocratic family which contributed several prominent statesmen to the T'ang dynasty. Although he is mentioned only casually in the imperial annals, allusion is made to his knowledge of art. There we also learn that upon completion of his book in 847, he was made Secretary

² *Ch'ien-han-shu*, Chap. 30.

³ *Sui-shu*, Chap. 33, p. 29.

⁴ *T'ang-shu*, Chap. 59, p. 29.

in the Board of Ceremonies, and in 874 was made a Judge in the Court of Appeals. His grandfather, Chang Hung-ching, in whose biography⁵ we find this information, had collected a very important group of paintings⁶ a few of which Yen-yüan had opportunities of studying. It is not merely arid theoretical speculation which he offers us in this important text, but a critique which was based upon personal observation of the art products of antiquity, the admiration of which often led the author to express his contempt for the productions of his contemporaries. Because of the importance of this work as our principal source for antiquity and the early middle ages, a short synopsis of the contents of the ten books is given here.

The *first* book contains a few historical treatises on:

1. The beginning of painting in China.

2. On its height and decadence.

3. On the number of important artists from earliest days to the year 841. The number of important names in the successive dynasties are as follows:†

Prehistorical Period of the Mythical Emperor Huang-ti	
(2697 B.C.)	1
Period of Chou (1122-255 B.C.)	2
Period of Ch'in (255-206 B.C.)	1
Period of Ch'ien-han (206 B.C.-25 A.D.)	6
Period of Hou-han (25-221 A.D.)	6
Period of San-kuo (221-265 A.D.)	8
Period of Chin (265-420 A.D.)	23
Period of Sung (420-479 A.D.)	28
Period of Ch'i (479-502 A.D.)	28
Period of Liang (502-557 A.D.)	20
Period of Ch'ên (557-589 A.D.)	1
Period of Wei (386-550 A.D.)	9
Period of North Ch'i (550-557 A.D.)	10
Period of North Chou (557-589 A.D.)	1
Period of Sui (581-618 A.D.)	21
Period of T'ang (618 until time of author, 841 A.D.)	206
Total up to 841 A.D.	371

⁵ *T'ang-shu*, Chap. 127, pp. 6 to 9, and *Chiu-t'ang-shu*, Chap. 129, pp. 13-16.

⁶ *T'ang-shu*, p. 8.

† As China was frequently divided into several different kingdoms, the dates of these dynasties are not always consecutive. This list proves, however, that according to the views of Chang Yen-yüan, painters of importance appeared only sporadically before the third or fourth century, and that the art of painting had its real beginning at that time.

4. Analysis of the author's views on the six principles of Hsieh Ho, one of the great painters of the fifth century. In the course of this discussion he characterizes with a few concise sentences the styles of the principal periods of antiquity. The first book closes with a dissertation on the art of landscape painting.

In the *second* book the theoretical discussions are continued. Here we find dissertations "On the style of the old classic painters," "On the inheritance of peculiarities of style among the old masters," by which he means the painters Ku K'ai-chih, Lu T'an-wei, Chang Sêng-yu and Wu Tao-tze. There are, in addition, treatises on the value of the different painters' styles and the author's attempt at a classification. He also discusses the prices and the preservation of objects of art.

The *third* book discusses the signatures on old paintings. Before the T'ang dynasty it was not customary to put seals on the paintings belonging to the Imperial collections, but the authenticity of the most celebrated paintings was certified by the personally inscribed signatures of famous art critics. Chang Yen-yüan has preserved for us the names of these authorities. His list for the Sung and Ch'i dynasties (420-502) contains only a few names, but the Liang period (502-557) is represented by fourteen critics, probably because of the great development which museums received under the famous Emperor Yüan. In the Sui dynasty (581-618) the pictures of the Imperial collections were signed by the high civil officers, and the same practice was followed in the beginning of the T'ang dynasty. The Emperor Hsüan-tsung (713-756), who through systematic purchases had brought his gallery to an, as yet, unattained excellence, ordered the signatures removed from his old paintings in order that his own court critics might provide the paintings with a new date and inscription. From about the middle of the seventh century there was added to the inscription a seal of vermillion ink, which at that time was not the painter's seal but the seal of the owner. On the pictures which belonged to the collection of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung, is usually found the inscription "K'ai-yüan," a name given to the years of his reign between 713 and 742, and which might fairly be called the foundation period for the museums of China. Special seals were also owned by the state institutes of learning, such as the Academy of Arts (Chih-sien), the Academy of Sciences (Han-lin), and the Imperial Library (Pi-kê), that used their seals for stamping scrolls of handwritings and paintings in their possession.

Among the private seals that are described, only a few can be identified as being those of famous painters, among them being that of Chou Fang (eighth century), but all the seals that he mentions must have belonged to connoisseurs, as he makes the statement at the end of his list that all other private seals merely show former possession without

having any critical worth as to the identity of the picture. To these lists of the inscriptions of critics and the seals of critics is added information concerning the mounting of the paintings in ancient times. Before the Chin dynasty (265-420) not much attention was paid to this point. Fan-yé (fifth century), the great historian and author of the *Hou-han-shu*,⁸ is considered the first person who understood the mounting of scroll paintings. After him the Emperor Wu, of the Liang dynasty (502-50), took a special interest in mounting his pictures beautifully, and under T'ai-tsung (627-650), who is considered the founder of the first great picture gallery of the T'ang dynasty, it reached its climax. People had learned to consider not only in what way the picture might be given a suitable frame, but above all things what material, paper, glue, and so on, were the most suitable for the durability of valuable works of art. Of special importance for the preservation of paintings, whether silk or paper, both for water-color and ink work, are the materials for the back (*chuang-pei*) upon which the picture is pasted. Such backs were chosen with special consideration for the medium in which the picture was painted, whereas the selection of a suitable frame (*piau*), which in ancient times consisted of strips of beautiful brocades, depended entirely upon æsthetic considerations.

One of the most important parts of the painting is the round piece of wood which serves as a steadying weight when the picture is hanging (*chou*), and upon which the picture is carefully rolled whenever it is not in use. In ancient times these picture rolls became extravagant luxuries. When the paintings were small the end-pieces were made of jade, crystal or amber, whereas the larger pictures were simply provided with pine wood rolls, the ends of which were beautifully lacquered. Often these end-pieces in ancient times, and even in more modern times, were ornamented with precious stones which, however, were difficult to preserve in the Imperial collections. Therefore, in the great gallery of the Emperor Hsuan-tsung the painting scrolls, as well as those of hand-writings, were made of white sandalwood with end-pieces of red sandalwood.

The end of the third book consists of an index of famous works of art in which a distinction is made between wall-paintings and gallery pictures. Ancient China must, indeed, have been rich in wall-paintings of great style and design. These were for the most part located in monasteries and temples of the two old capitals, Chang-an⁹ and Lo-yang.¹⁰ I am not in a position to say of what nature these frescoes (*hua-pi*—literally, a "painting wall") were.

⁸ Fifth Century Biography *Sung-shu*, Chap. 69, pp. 5-18.

⁹ Near Si-guan-fu, the capital of Shen-si.

¹⁰ Corresponds to modern Ho-nan-fu. Chang-an was the Western, Lo-yang the Eastern capital.

THE LOSS OF BUDDHIST ART WORKS

Chang Yen-yüan deploras the vandalism which as a result of the great Buddhist persecution was directed against all Buddhist art by the energetic Emperor Wu-tsung. In order to do away entirely with the clergy, the Emperor sent out a command in the year 845 that all monasteries and temples of the Buddhists should be destroyed throughout the entire kingdom, an event which was disastrous to the works of the masters of China, for, of the thousands of buildings beautifully decorated with religious paintings, only two or three in the two capitals were preserved from total destruction. Fortunately, there were some lovers of the beautiful who managed to get possession of some of the holy treasures that had been condemned to destruction. The mandarins who were ordered to confiscate the monasteries' treasures, melted the bronze statues into copper cash, but it would have been surprising if the idea that the paintings were very valuable, had not deterred the government officials from completing their work of destruction. Moreover, there was a strong party at court that opposed the persecution of the Buddhists, whose leader, the minister Li Tê-yü, had the confidence of the Emperor in all matters. Chang Yen-yüan gives him the credit of having collected a number of the works of the classical master Ku K'ai-chih that were scattered about in many of the Buddhistic monasteries, and of having hidden them in one of the smaller monasteries that was saved from destruction. In the list, as given in the *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi*, of wall paintings still in existence shortly after the destruction of the monasteries, we find celebrated names, among others Chang Sêng-yu and Wu Tao-tze. Judging by the description, most of these wall pictures had a Buddhistic religious subject, but other subjects are also mentioned.

At the end of the third book we find the enumeration of famous old illustrations, the names of some of which are very well known even to-day, though it is doubtful whether the corresponding later pictures even remotely resemble the ancient originals. Among these is a series *San-li-t'u*, a work in ten books with numerous illustrations of the ancient ceremonial dresses and headgear, carriages, implements, and so on. Also the series *Ehr-ya-t'u* with illustrations, a sort of *orbis pictus* in two volumes by Chiang Kuan. The *Shan-hai-ching-t'u* illustrations depict the mythical stories of an ancient popular ethnography. It is fair to suppose that the illustrations now known under these titles are based on those mentioned by Chang Yen-yüan, but this can not be established from literary sources. Of the numerous titles that are now lost to us some indicate maps like that of the *Ti-hsing-fang-chang-t'u*, literally, "picture of the shape of the earth, a square Chang," by P'ei Siu, the great topographer of the third century. A similar title *Ti-hsing-t'u*, literally, "map of the

earth's shape," probably a representation of the world as it was then known to the Chinese, is ascribed to Chang Hêng, who lived between 78 and 139 A.D.,¹¹ and belongs to the six painters of the later Han dynasty.¹² Pictures of foreign folk types were contained in the picture series named *Chih-kung-t'u*, ascribed to the Emperor Yüan (552-555). According to Chang Yen-yüan's list this series contained scenes from the lives of foreign races, the pictures of foreign noblemen and of the ambassadors from foreign tributary countries, in other words, a variety of foreign folk types. A similar subject was treated in the next series mentioned, the *Chung-t'ien-chu-kuo-t'u*, literally, "pictures of middle India." It was in three volumes and became part of a comprehensive description of travel in ten volumes, which was completed in the year 658 by an official, Wang Hsuan-tze, who had been sent to India by the Emperor. Another series, *Pên-ts'au-t'u*, which according to its title contained plant illustrations, is described as dating from the period Ming-ching (Hsien-ch'ing, 656-661), and consisted of twenty-five sheets. These, doubtless, are the illustrations for the big Pharmacopœia of the T'ang dynasty, which was issued at that time and which was a predecessor of the modern *Pên-ts'au-kang-mu*. Some of the works mentioned in this list are ascribed to the Han dynasty.

The fourth to the tenth books contain the biographical material. The publishers of the great catalogue of the Imperial Library in Peking believe that these biographies comprised, originally, a separate work of the author's which was published as an appendix to his history of art, and was only combined with it later under the present title. In its present form the lists of painters already given in the first book would be superfluous in connection with the later repetition. Occasionally his biographical material is covered by other sources, especially by the histories of the various dynasties, but for most of the old masters, who because of political or other reasons were omitted in the Imperial histories, the records in the *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi* represent the principal, as well as the oldest, of the sources now obtainable. The *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi* should be placed at the head of all the ancient literary records on the art of painting because it is actually the oldest of the exhaustive works on the subject. Older works of a specialized nature were already plentiful when Chang Yen-yüan was writing, and as some of them are still in existence, I will now give a general outline of a few of these.

¹¹ 74-139 A.D. *Hua-shih-hui-chuan*.

¹² *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi*, Chap. 4, p. 3.

OLDER WORKS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

The painter Hsieh Ho, a prominent portraitist at the end of the fifth century, was probably the first man to make a lengthy critical study of the productions of his art predecessors, for he attempted, in the *Ku-hua-p'in-lu*, to classify the different masters according to his own estimation of the worth of their work. He based his criticisms upon very definite principles which constitute his chief claim to fame, for they became the alpha and omega of Chinese art criticism from his time to the present day. These six principles, the *Liu-fa* of Hsieh Ho, are brought up at every opportunity in Chinese art literature to indicate the height of the artistic achievement of a painter or to indicate what one painter can do and what the other can not.

One must really be Chinese, and indeed a Chinese painter, to comprehend even the superficial significance of these six principles, to say nothing of the philosophical and artistic subtleties that hundreds of years of study by the most exquisite intelligences have read into them. The following translation pretends to nothing but an attempt to be as literal as possible:

1. *Ch'i-yün-shêng-tung*: Spiritual expression and life-movement.
2. *Ku-fa-yung-pi*: Structure and style.
3. *Ying-wu-hsiang-hsing*: Representation of form according to the object.
4. *Sui-lei-fu-ts'ai*: Spreading color according to the nature (of the object).
5. *Ching-ying-wei-chih*: Organizing and constructing positions according to the space.
6. *Ch'uan-mu-i-hsieh*: Tracing and copying.

An instance of the manner in which these six principles were used can be found in Chang Yen-yüan's comparison of the masters of antiquity with his contemporaries of the ninth century. The old masters, he says, in achieving correctness of outline never sacrificed the spiritual quality and life-movement, whereas the painters of his day expected their correct outlines to take the place of their total lack of spirituality.

Hsieh Ho himself divided all his predecessors up to the sixth century into six classes according to their manner of expressing in their art the six essentials as defined by him. In the first class there were only five painters including Lu T'an-wei, Ts'au Pu-hsing and Wei Hsieh; in the second were only three names, led by that of Ku Chün-chih. Ku K'ai-chih (fourth century)—the first Chinese painter to maintain that the highest problem of art was the representation of man, whom Chang Yen-yüan considered the equal of Lu T'an-wei, Chang Sêng-yu and Wu Tao-tze—is placed only in the third class by Hsieh Ho, together with eight

other men. The fourth class contains five names, the fifth three, and the sixth only two. In all he gives place to only twenty-seven artists in his classification, which does not by any means include all the painters known to him, for the *Shu-hua-p'u* (Chap. 45) contains eighty biographies of men who lived before the time of Hsieh Ho.

Yau Tsui, who does not seem to have been known as a painter, published a continuation of Hsieh Ho's classification of painters in the sixth century under the name of *Hsü-hua-p'in* (Continued Classification of Painters). To him we owe the oldest mention, though but a scant one, of the classic painter Chang Sêng-yu.

Another of the oldest art works which has been preserved to the present day is the *Chêng-kuan-kung-ssü-hua-shih* ("Concerning Public and Privately Owned Paintings of the Masters in the Period Chêng-kuan, 627-650"), which was published in the year 639 by P'ei Hsiauyüan. We know only the author's official title, Chung-shu-shê-jên, which from the time of North Wei (fifth century) to only shortly before the Mongolian supremacy (thirteenth century), corresponded to the combined functions of the Vice-Chancellor of the Imperial Cabinet (Nei-ko-hsiao-shih) and Minister of Ceremonies (Li-pu-shang-shê).¹³ This book contains a catalogue of the important paintings in public and private collections in the year 639, in all two hundred and thirty-nine scrolls. Of the paintings by Lu T'an-wei, the classical painter of the fifth century, thirteen originals are still mentioned, all of them portraits that had come from the Imperial collection of the Sui dynasty after its fall in the year 618. Twelve copies after this master are also mentioned. Other pictures from the Sui collection were seventeen rolls by Ku K'ai-chih, five rolls by Ts'au Pu-hsing (third century), one of the oldest masters of eminence, who in spite of all the legends attached to his name seems to have been an actual person. Six rolls were the work of the Emperor Yuan-ti, who reigned from 552-554 and bore his inscriptions and seals. But the author says of these paintings, as he does in the case of others from the gallery of the Liang dynasty, that they are not mentioned in the still existing catalogue of the period T'ai-ts'ing (547-550). In private possession were six rolls of the Indian priest Kabôdha (Chia-fo-t'ô), among which are the titles "People and objects in the land of Fu-lin (Syria)," and "All sorts of animals from foreign lands." Chang Sêng-yu was represented by nineteen pictures, of which nine had been taken over with the Imperial Sui collection. In short, we find even in that day that the principal old masters were represented in the court possessions, although a hundred years later, through the efforts of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung, the Imperial gallery was enriched by many an old picture until then un-

¹³ *Li-tai-chih-kuan-piau*, Chap. 1, p. 3.

known. By means of later catalogues we can trace the history of these very ancient paintings and though we must look upon almost all of these old treasures as lost forever, it is interesting to be able to determine where, and at what time, a picture is last mentioned in the literary histories.

Picture catalogue literature, so far as it has survived, began with this catalogue of P'ei Hsiao-yüan. Numerous extracts from this branch of literature can be found in the treatises on the history of gallery possessions (*Li-tai-chien-ts'ang-hua*) in the *Shu-hua-p'u* (Chapter 95-100).

A survey of the painters of the T'ang dynasty (618-907) has been left to us in the form of another classifying work under the title *T'ang-ch'ao-ming-hua-lu*, by an art historian of the tenth century, Chu Ching-hsüan. The habit of dividing into classes artists of all sorts according to the grade of their ability developed early with the Chinese. The arch-type of all classifiers was the historian Pan Ku, who in the twentieth chapter of his history of the older Han dynasty set up a scale of nine grades for the entire human race. The highest stage of development (shang, shang, "the first and foremost") was "the holy one," "the all wise one" (shêng). With this title only the good old Emperors of prehistoric times and men like Confucius and Lao-tze are honored, whereas the lowest rung (hsia, "the lowest of the low") is occupied by the stupid ones, by those incapable of cultural development. Pan Ku explains his divisions,¹⁴ as did many of the Chinese inventors of theories, by a saying of Confucius, "He who was born wise stands highest, after him comes he who has achieved wisdom through learning, lower still is he who learns without understanding, lowest is he who has neither understanding nor learning."

The principles of Hsieh Ho, with which we have become acquainted in his six rules, have no immediate relationship to this subjective ranging of humanity. The first artist to apply the class system of Pan Ku was Li Ssü-hsün (651-716 A.D.), in his essay on calligraphists. He was followed in the eighth century by Chang Huai-huan, who completed the heretofore unsystematic grading of artists through a more detailed characterization by establishing, in his little treatise on famous calligraphists (*Shu-tuan*, "Critique of Calligraphists"), the three classes "Shên" (spirit, genius), "Miau" (talent), and "Nêng" (mechanical ability).

These classifications, which were established in the eighth century for the intimately related art of calligraphy, were applied for the first time to paintings by Chu Ching-hsüan, who added a fourth class under the name "i," for those artists who would not accept the classic rules of art. The three main divisions "shên-p'in," "miao-p'in," and "nêng-p'in" he again divided into three subdivisions, shang, chung and hsia (above, middle and below). The artists belonging to the class "shên-p'in," the

¹⁴ *Ch'ien-han-shu*, Chap. 20, p. 1.

"spiritual" ones or the "geniuses by the grace of God" are those who were, so to speak, born with their art, who like Wu Tao-tze would have been great painters no matter what obstacles they may have had to overcome. "Miau-p'in," the "class worthy of admiration," also is supposed to indicate high praise, but the artists relegated to this category possessed no innate genius, only a talent achieved through hard work. The third class, "nêng-p'in," literally, the "class of the able," probably refers only to mechanical or technical ability, but the meaning of "i-p'in" can only be arrived at through an exact knowledge of the traditional regulations, the observation of which was necessary in order to achieve admission into one of the three orthodox classes. It is interesting to note that some art critics put the "i-p'in" first, whereas other, perhaps more academic-minded critics put it last.

As *hors de concours*, Chu Ching-hsüan places the names of a few imperial princes who were known as painters. These are followed by a marvelous array of names, ninety-four in number, that had made the fame and glory of the three centuries during which the might of the T'ang dynasty resounded through the greatest part of Asia. In the "shên-p'in-shang," that is the "geniuses of the spirit," we find the famous eighth century painter Wu Tao-tze. He is the only one of this rank. In the "shên-p'in-chung" class, the "middle division" of the genius class, we find only Chou Fang, a contemporary of Wu Tao-tze. The geniuses of the third class (shên-p'in-hsia) are the equally famous masters Yen Li-pên, Yen Li-tê, Wei-ch'ih I-sêng, the Khoten painter; Chang Tsau; Han Kan, the painter of horses; Li Ssü-hsün, the water-color landscape painter; and Hsüeh Chi, painter of cranes in all possible attitudes. Wang Wei, the landscape painter and founder of the black and white school, is put down under the class "miau-p'in-shang" (talented painters of the first class). About two-thirds of the list belongs to those of mechanical ability or technical skill (nêng-p'in) and the specialties of each painter are enumerated.

This classification of the painters, as we find it arranged by Chu Ching-hsüan, is worthy of special attention because the fundamental principles "shên," "miau," "nêng," and "i" have been retained up to recent times. Every painter is given his title, and although differences of opinion among art historians must frequently occur, nevertheless, in the judgments on many of the prominent masters, we find a consensus of opinion that shows quite clearly how the Chinese estimated their painters, and is, therefore, not without interest to us.

We will pass over several monographs like that of *Wu-tai-ming-hua-pu-i* ("Essays on the Famous Painters of the Five Dynasties"), with an introduction in 1059 by Liu Tau-ch'un, which is devoted to the short, but artistically very important era between the T'ang and the Sung dynasties (907-960). There is also another book by the same author,

Sung-chau-ming-hua-p'ing ("A Critique of Famous Painters of the Sung Dynasty"), in which the Sung painters from the year 960 up to the time of the author (eleventh century) are divided according to the classification of Chang Huai-huan. There are in addition two works by the painter Ching Hao, namely, the *Hua-shan-shui-fu* ("Poetical Description of the Art of Landscape Painting") and his *Pi-fa-chi* ("Notes on the Laws of the Brush"). Paléologue¹⁵ says of these that they have not been preserved, but a description of them can still be found in the catalogue of the Imperial Library (*Tsung-mu*, chapter 112, page 14). Another book of importance is the *I-chou-ming-hua-lu* in two books, by Huang Hsiu-fu, which covers the period 758-968 with special attention to painting in Ch'êng-tu, the capital of the province Ssü-ch'uan, which at this time was at its height. In this short outline we must set aside these interesting but specialized volumes and devote our attention to the next general history of painting after the *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi*. This book, as we have seen, closes with the year 841. With this same year Kuo Jo-hü, the leading art historian of the eleventh century, begins his history and carries it on to the year 1074. It is called the *T'u-hua-chièn-wên-chih*, and contains six books.

THE T'U HUA-CHIÈN-WÊN-CHIH

The first book, as in the work of Chang Yen-yüan, begins with a series of short essays on such subjects as the Emperor T'ai-tsung's search for old pictures, on the impossibility of learning Ch'i-yün (the expression of the spiritual), on the colors of Wu Tao-tze, on the superiorities and the weaknesses of the ancients in comparison with the more modern painters. In connection with the last subject we find for the first time in the works of a Chinese connoisseur, the opinion that later was generally accepted, namely, that the ancients were not equalled by the men of his time (tenth and eleventh centuries) in figure painting (Buddhist and Taoist saints, interiors, portraits, cattle and horses), but on the other hand that the old classic painters were surpassed by the moderns (the painters of the tenth and eleventh centuries) in the representation of landscapes, flowers, bamboo groves, birds and fishes. He points to the masters Ku K'ai-chih, Lu T'an-wei, Chang Sêng-yu, Yen Li-pên, and his brother Li-tê, and finally Wu Tao-tze, who is praised as the greatest master of all times, as unequalled in the representation of Buddhist and Taoist figures. He mentions Chang Hsüan and Chou Fang as portraitists, the great horse painter Han Kan, and the painter of water-buffalos, Tai Sung, as examples of the highest accomplishment in the "expression of

¹⁵ *L'Art Chinois*, p. 265.

the spiritual," and adds that they were unequalled by any of his contemporaries. On the other hand, landscape painters, such as Li Ch'êng and Fan K'uan, or flower painters, such as Hsü Hsi and Huang-Ts'üan, were not equalled by any painters of ancient times.

In the second, third and fourth volumes we find the necessary biographical material for the period that he covers, in the fifth volume, a string of miscellaneous anecdotes in two parts, the first of which is devoted to the older paintings, the second to the works of the author's contemporaries.

Following the chronological order, our consideration should next be given to the *Hua-shih*, in one volume, by the famous painter and orthographist, Mi Fu. But interesting as are the lively narratives of this intense personality, their scope is scarcely broad enough to give the *Hua-shih* a place beside such works as have already been mentioned. While describing his own work and all his idiosyncrasies in great detail, he gives much interesting information about his predecessors and contemporaries in art, but the temper of his criticisms can be readily seen in one passage on his own work that ends "nor is there one single stroke in my pictures that breathes such vulgarity as those of Li Ch'êng and Fan K'uan."¹⁶

THE HUA-CHI

We now come to the third comprehensive work—the history of painting from the year 1074, where the work of Kuo Jo-hü ends, to the year 1167—the *Hua-chi* ("Continuation of Painting"), in ten volumes, by Têng Ch'un. The author even as a young man was occupied with literary activities and had helped his father, Têng Ming-shih, with the publishing, in 1134, of an extensive treatise on the family names of the Chinese. In spite of the existence of a lengthy descriptive catalogue of the Emperor Hui-tsung's collection, which we will mention later in detail, it seemed highly desirable that the general history of painting, which had been begun by Chang Yen-yüan and Kuo Jo-hü, should be continued. We have in this work a history of the development of Chinese art to the end of the twelfth century.

The *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi* carries us from the mythological period to the year 841.

The *Tu-hua-chièn-wên-chih* from 841 to 1074, and lastly,

The *Hua-chi* from 1074 to 1167.

The first seven books of the *Hua-chi* are largely biographical. The construction of this history has very apparent defects as the author be-

¹⁶ *Hua-shih*, as quoted in the *P'ei-wên-chai-shu-hua-p'u*, Chap. 15, pp. 11-13.

gins with "Holy art" or "Imperial art" (shêng-i), a discussion of the artistic products of the Emperor Hui-tsung, who had died in 1135, sixteen years after his abdication, an exile and prisoner of the Kin Tartars. This is followed by a discussion of the other members of the imperial family who were known as painters, among them Chao Po-chü. This takes up the first and second books. The third, fourth and fifth books are devoted to painters distinguished by their positions as scholars, officials, priests or women of prominence. In the sixth and seventh books he has grouped all others according to their special department of painting. If we overlook the structural weaknesses of the book, we find that the biographical information is fully as important as that of the two previously mentioned histories. The eighth book contains a list of all the important old paintings which were then in private possession, a small critical selection of the best among the best, or, as the author expresses himself: "Among a thousand, a hundred; among a hundred, ten; of ten, one"; for says he, "If I wished to note what one sees every day it would burden two oxen." Those which are not included in the list are the things of which Mi Yüan-chang^{16a} said that "they would cause one to die for shame."

The picture catalogue of Têng Ch'un contains only a few of the important names of antiquity, such as Ku K'ai-chih, whose painting of the "Three Religions" (Confucius, Lao-tze, and Buddha) then belonged to a great art collector of K'ai-fêng-fu. The masters of the T'ang dynasty are better represented, especially Wu Tao-tze and Wang Wei, as well as Han Kan with a horse picture, but the majority of the paintings belong to the masters of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Through this, as well as many another list of paintings still preserved in the literature of China, we are able to find out the addresses of the various art collectors scattered in different parts of the Empire, each of whom owned only a few, rarely more than a half dozen of the famous treasures. In this catalogue, the one hundred and forty-seven paintings mentioned are divided among thirty different owners. In the ninth and tenth books Têng Ch'un gives us a series of short comments on painting, reflections, based not so much upon historical facts as upon the personal views of the author, that show the severity of his judgment. The six principles of Hsieh Ho, said he, are rarely found in the art of a single master. This was the case in Wu Tao-tze and, among the later painters, in Li Lung-mien. The end of the ninth book consists of some very interesting facts about Korean, Japanese and Indian paintings. He gives descriptions of the Korean willow-wood and paper fans, notes their use of "sky-blue" and "sea-green," and contrasts them with the Japanese and Chinese folding fans. In comparing Indian images of Buddha with those of the Chinese he says: "The Buddhistic monks of the monastery of Nālandā

^{16a} Mi Fu's cognomen.

in Central India (of the Western Heaven) like to paint images of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Arhats on pieces of Indian cloth. These images always differ in appearance from our Chinese physiognomy. The eyes are somewhat bigger, the mouths and ears all very strange, the ears being long. Either in sitting postures or standing, they invariably have their right shoulders bare. . . . (In making these pictures) they first draw the 'five viscera' on the back of the paper, then they apply the five colors on the front surface, the ground being laid in either with gilt or red lead."

The author's conclusion shows us that the direct Indian influence on Chinese art was continued even at this date, for he tells us that "Shou Po, the Academician, when he was Prefect in Li Chou (Ssü-ch'uan) employed priests who had come from India to paint Buddha pictures in his administrative building."

THE HSÜAN-HO-HUA-P'U

Having outlined the three principal histories of Chinese painting which mutually complete each other, ranging from ancient times to the year 1167, we must now return to one of the most important monuments of Chinese art history which dates back sixty years before the *Hua-chi*. This is the great art catalogue of the Emperor Hui-tsung, the *Hsüan-ho-hua-p'ü*. Hui-tsung, who reigned from 1101 to 1126, and was certainly the most important art collector among the Chinese Emperors, brought the organization of the Imperial collection to its highest point of development when the political power of the dynasty had already begun to wane. He not only had bronzes, jades and manuscripts, but he added to his collection the greatest treasures that Chinese painting had to show, which, for the most part, had been in private possession up to that time. This collection was housed in the palace Hsüan-ho in his capital K'ai-fêng-fu. A painter himself, he had called to his court the greatest artists of his day, had founded an academy of painting and by means of an almost reckless encouragement of artists, the distribution, among other things, of titles and high political offices, had discovered many a hidden talent. His picture gallery, which surpassed anything that had yet been seen in China, was described in a catalogue of twenty volumes, the *Hsüan-ho-hua-p'ü* ("A Description of the Paintings in the Palace Hsüan-ho"), which, as no author is mentioned, we may suppose to have been compiled at the Emperor's command by a group of artists and critics. The introduction as well as the Emperor's own paintings are dated "at the palace Hsüan-ho" in the year 1120, that is, during the Hsüan-ho period of his reign (1119-1126), which was named after the famous art palace. The *Po-ku-t'u-lu*, a description of the bronzes, had been completed

in 1107, whereas the catalogue of handwritings which has no introduction, the *Hsüan-ho-shu-p'u*, appeared together with the catalogue of paintings.¹⁷ Hui-tsung's gallery still contained some paintings of antiquity dating back as far as the Tsin dynasty (third century). It contained in all 231 masters with 6,396 paintings. The important place which this catalogue has in the history of Chinese art justifies a more detailed description.

THE CATEGORIES

The entire catalogue is arranged according to the classification of the subjects of the paintings, and, as the categories which were created for painting by Chinese art historians, do not always coincide with ours, I will mention the ten main groups with their technical names as found in Hui-tsung's catalogue. These categories (*mên*, literally gate) are:

1. *Tao-shih*, literally, "Tauist and Buddhist bonzes."—This is the division which we can call the religious painting of the Chinese. To this class belong all the paintings that depict the Tauist and Buddhist traditions, and all the mythological figures of the Chinese cosmogony, spirits (*hsien*), fairies (*t'ien-nü*, literally women of heaven), conjurers, hermits sages, as well as allegorical paintings of the heavenly firmament and mythological monsters. Also the entire Buddhistic pantheon, Buddha himself in all his various metamorphoses, and his disciples, the Arhats, Pusas, and bonzes, especially Kuan-yin, who originally was a local Chinese deity and only later became the equivalent of the Indian male deity Avalôkitês'vâra or Padmapâni.¹⁸ Descriptions of these religious subjects fill the first to the fifth books of the catalogue.

2. *Jên-wu*, literally "human affairs" (fifth to seventh books).—If we except the religious category and that of the "paintings of things foreign," this is really the category of figure painting. In this class belonged familiar subjects which have kept their popularity from ancient times down to the present day, such as illustrations of womanly virtue (*lieh-nü*), of the seven wise men (*ch'i-ts'ai*), historical paintings and even humorous genre paintings, as we may conclude from such titles as "The Drunken Man" (*tsui-k'o*), "Men and Women in a Summer Landscape" (*pi-shu-shih-nü*), "Priests in a Thunder Storm" (*fêng-yü-sêng*). Under this head are also placed various other sorts of figure paintings such as paintings of manners and morals, illustrations of popular occu-

¹⁷ *Tsung-mu*, Chap. 112, p. 31, and for the *Hsüan-ho-hua-pu*, *ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

¹⁸ "As a god he is of Indian origin, but as a goddess she is, at least partly, a native deity."—Watters. *Essays on the Chinese Language*, p. 448. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism* gives the twelfth century as the date of the metamorphosis, but this is an error, as numerous earlier representations of this Bodhisattva in female form still exist.

pations such as "A Picture of Peasant Life" (tien-chia-fêng-su), "Ladies Making Music" (ku-ch'in-shih-nü), and an entire array of illustrated anecdotes as we find them told by the broad humorists of Chinese history.

3. *Kung-shih*, literally, "palace and house" (eighth book).—This consists of a group of architectural paintings. Among these famous and often repeated subjects belongs the Han Kung-t'u, "The Imperial Palace of the Han Dynasty," which usually consists of representations of huge parks furnished with all the luxuries of ancient Asia, dotted with towers, kiosks, and large halls, and animated by groups of people engaged in every sort of pleasurable pursuit. We also find representations of snow-covered roofs, and mountain monasteries perched upon remote and unapproachable mountain heights. The appendix of this category includes ship paintings and paintings of vehicles.

4. *Fan-tsu*, literally, "foreign tribes" (close of the eighth book).—A small group of paintings representing scenes from the life of the northern border tribes, showing herdsmen, horsemen and hunting scenes, caravans and folk types. The painters of these pictures often belonged to the tribe whose mode of life they portrayed.

5. *Lung-yü*, literally, "dragons and fish" (ninth book).—To which must be added all other water creatures, such as crabs, shrimps, and so on.

6. *Shan-shui*, literally, "mountains and water," in other words landscape (tenth to twelfth books).—It is noteworthy for the history of Chinese art that the gallery of Hui-tsung contains no landscape paintings of antiquity, whereas the other group of religious and figure paintings is represented by examples dating back several centuries before the T'ang dynasty. The oldest landscape painter represented was Li Ssü-shün (651-716), who had inspired the entire coloristic tendency and still dominated the contemporaries of Hui-tsung. Few as the landscape painters are which date from the T'ang period (618-907) in this museum, nevertheless it contained examples by the greatest masters, namely, Lu Hung, Wang Wei, the founder of the black and white school, and Chang Tsau, the originator of finger painting. The landscape painters of the Sung dynasty were represented by Tung Pei-yüan with 78 paintings, Li Ch'êng with 159, Fan K'uan by 58, Kuo Hsi by 30, and the monk K'ü-jan by 136 paintings. In addition three paintings by an unknown Japanese artist, which had been presented to the court in the years 976-984 by traveling Japanese priests, had been given a place in the landscape division.

7. *Ch'u-shou*, literally, "domestic animals and wild beasts" (books thirteen and fourteen).—Principally horses, cattle, dogs, rabbits and cats, also lions and tigers, the latter probably painted in captivity. Li Ai-chih, the greatest of the Chinese cat painters (tenth century), was alone represented by eighteen paintings devoted to his favorite subject,

some of the titles being "Playing Cats," "Chicks with Cats," and "Drunken Cats." Horses and cattle were a favorite subject as far back as the fourth century, for the gallery contained three animal paintings by Shih Tau-shê (fourth century) which belonged to the most ancient examples of painting. Han Kan, the greatest horse painter of the eighth century who would acknowledge only the Imperial stable as his master, was represented by fifty-two paintings and Ts'au Pa, Han Kan's teacher, by fourteen pictures, also of horses.

8. *Hua-niau*, literally, "flowers and birds" (books fifteen to nineteen).—Under this heading we find no pre-T'ang pictures and examples even of T'ang paintings of these subjects are very few in comparison with the number belonging to the Sung dynasty. The group *Hua-niau* also includes butterflies and bees, apparently as constant companions of the flowers. The oldest butterfly and bee picture in the collection was by Prince T'êng, a member of the Imperial house of T'ang, who is first mentioned by Chu Ching-hsüan as a painter of bees and butterflies, swallows and other little birds, donkeys and water buffaloes. Hsüeh Chi (end of the seventh century), who was the first painter to specialize in the depiction of cranes, had seven crane paintings preserved in this collection which probably became the models for this department of painting so frequently copied in the East Asiatic countries. Among the few remaining T'ang pictures we also find, aside from those already mentioned, paintings of peacocks, doves, hawks and pheasants, among the flower paintings, peonies, pomegranate blossoms, plum and peach blossoms, sun-flowers and banana trees. The number of species represented in later examples is very much greater and at that time a certain traditional and largely symbolical grouping of certain flowers, plants and trees, with certain birds, begins to make its appearance.

CONVENTIONAL GROUPINGS

They liked, for example, to combine apricot blossoms and swallows as representative of spring, and the grouping of lotus flowers and wild ducks was emblematical of autumn. The crane and pine-tree as symbols of long life are often found together, but many of the traditional combinations of objects are quite incomprehensible to us to-day. Any grouping once established became a generally accepted type that served as a model and was faithfully copied for many centuries.

The typical, or the tendency to adhere to tradition, is, in fact, characteristic of Chinese art in all its branches. In figure painting where the selection and combining of the different objects to be represented usually depends upon some literary heritage, whether the subject be historical, mythical or religious, the symbolism can be readily traced by us to-day,

but in the group Hua-niau we often search in vain to find a reason why the painters show such preference for certain apparently heterogeneous combinations. What, for instance, is the connection between a cock (chi) and the flower cockscomb (chi-kuan-hua, literally, cockscap), except perhaps the name and the resemblance in form between the cock's head-gear and the shape of the flower? ^{18a} But when a Chinese painter depicts a cock he invariably decorates the background with plants, and when he can think of nothing better he invariably uses for this purpose *celosia cristata* with its reddish purple flowers. Of course, many of these combinations may have no significance whatever. Often it is sufficient that a picture, in which such heterogeneous objects are used, should have been famous in antiquity to cause it to be copied hundreds of years later, and frequently the mere mention in some literary classic of a favorite combination of the ancients, causes it to be used by successive generations of artists. One of these, for example, is the composition of "Cat and Peony." The popularity of this subject may be attributed to an anecdote told by Shên Kua in his *Mêng-chi-pi-t'an*, a still popular encyclopedia of the eleventh century. The famous historian and epigraphist Oû-yang Siu (1007-1072), got possession of an ancient painting, a group of peonies in blossom with a cat sitting beneath them. Oû-yang Siu was at a loss to explain the significance of the picture until a friend of his discovered that the name of the picture must be "Peonies at Noon," for this reason: "The flowers were completely opened and dried, which could only be the case by day, whereas the pupils of the cat's eyes were narrowed to a mere slit which could only be observed at noon. A flower which is covered with dew would be closed and moist, and the pupils of the cat's eyes are round in the morning and evening, growing longer during the day and being merely threadlike in shape at noon." "By such keen observation," explained the friend, "could one recognize the manner of the ancients." All well-read Chinese are familiar with hundreds of similar anecdotes and in this way compositions such as that of the "Peony and Cat" are frequently chosen even by much later painters. Flower painting reached its height at the court of Li Yü, who ruled in Nan King from 962 to 975, but surrendered without a struggle to the victorious army of the new Sung dynasty.

9. *Mo-chu*, literally, "ink bamboos" (twentieth book).—This includes black and white sketching of bamboo trees, which was a sort of intellectual sport in the East Asiatic world from the tenth century on.

10. *Su-kuo*, literally, "vegetables and fruit" (end of the twentieth book).—This is a type of design which seems to have been used in the earliest days, for one of the ancient painters, Ku Yeh-wang, famous in

^{18a} Mr. T. Y. Leo suggests that the idea of the "hat upon the hat" is a symbolical depiction of progress in official life.

the sixth century for his plant paintings, was represented by a painting "Plants with Insects" (ts'au-ch'ung-t'u).

ADDITIONAL CLASSIC CATEGORIES

All the paintings in Hui-tsung's collection were forced into these ten categories, but they by no means include all the established categories. Chu Ching-hsüan, in his classification of the T'ang painters, had already defined the specialty of each of the great masters. From this attempt to group the great monuments of painting according to subjects had arisen a group of technical expressions which, in part, are still in use. Having given the ten categories of Hui-tsung's gallery according to its catalogue, it might be well to go back to the works of Chu Ching-hsüan in order to point out the principal groups of which one can say that they reflect the preference of the painters of the T'ang dynasty in regard to the selection of subjects. According to the earlier work, Hui-tsung's first category, "religious painting," can easily be divided into a series of additional groups, of which the principal ones named by Chu Ching-hsüan are:

1. *Fu-hsiang*, literally, "Buddha pictures," the representations of the sage in his various manifestations, and under different names, mostly Indian.—The expression *Fu-hsiang* is chiefly used to indicate stone representations of the sage, like its Japanese equivalent "*butsuza*." Only secondarily does it refer to paintings. The original models for this class of religious painting were probably brought as finished products from India to China, together with the oldest Buddhistic statues. Among the Indian art centers the monastery at Nālandā was particularly prominent and was praised by a Chinese art historian for its excellent Buddha paintings as late as the twelfth century. The most famous representative of this branch of painting in the far East is the master of masters, Wu Tao-tze.

2. *Pu-sa*, corruption of Pu-ti-sa-to, the Chinese transcription of the Indian Bodhisattva, is the name of the "Enlightened Ones" who rank immediately after Buddha himself, Buddhistic saints who have only one more life to live before they become Buddhas themselves. The representation of the Pu-sa was one of the specialties of the Khoten painter Wei-ch'ih I-sêng, who liked particularly to depict the Pu-sa, Ta-peï or Avalôkitês'vâra, the Chinese Kuan-yin, who in Khoten, after Indian example, was probably still represented as a man. Another Pu-sa painter was the classic Chang Sêng-yu, by whom Hui-tsung's museum contained representations among others of the Pu-sa Mandjus'rî (Chinese, Wên-shu-pu-sa), and also of a divinity greatly honored in Chinese temples, Vimalakîrtti (Chinese, Wei-mo-chi), a subject which was popular with the Chinese painters of all times. After the Pu-sa come the Arhats

(Chinese, Lo-han), Buddhist saints, eighteen in number, who are usually conceived as disciples of Buddha.

3. *T'ien-wang*, literally, "Lord of Heaven," is probably Indra.

4. *Ti-yü*, literally, "the earthly prisons" or "hells" of the Buddhists, a popular subject even in recent times, which served the great Wu Tao-tze for some of his masterpieces.

5. *Kui-shên*, literally, "devils and spirits"—"Demons" in the Buddhist sense.—Two sorts of Rishi (immortals), namely Purusha (shên), the good spirits that inhabit the air, and Prêta (kui), horrible night spirits such as inhabit hell. But under the title *Kui-shên*, we must also group the entire horde of spirit forms created by the imagination of the Chinese people, in part much older than Buddhism itself and to which even the non-Buddhistic peoples bring sacrifices of all sorts. But as far as Buddhist art is concerned, only the Rishi are included under this heading.

6. *Kao-sêng*, literally, "high priests."—By this are meant the great traveling missionaries such as Fa-hsien and Hsuan-chuang, the Buddhist patriarchs, in short the entire semi-legendary clergy of ancient times as it has been pictorially preserved to posterity.

7. *Sêng-fu*, literally, "Bonzes and Buddha pictures."

8. *Shên-fu*, literally, "Spirit and Buddha Pictures."—Under the former term (shên-spirit) may be understood the divinities of the non-Buddhistic sects. These naturally were subjects of religious painting, especially the mythological figures of Taoist teaching.

9. *Kung-tê*, literally, "Merit and Virtue."—This is a Buddhist term which, according to the Indo-Chinese glossaries, is the translation of the Indian Gunabhadra, but it seems doubtful whether this refers to the personality known under this name who is mentioned in the Life of Hsuan-chuang or to the translator of Buddhist writings of the same name who lived in the fifth century.¹⁹ It is more likely that the term refers to representations of Buddhist "Labors and Virtues" (guna), perhaps a series of pictures such as the well-known, often-repeated scenes of purely Chinese origin, "Examples of Childish Love." *Kung-tê* or Guna pictures were painted by the leading classical painters, such as Yen Li-pên, Wei-ch'ih I-sêng and Wu Tao-tze.

10. The category *Jên-wu*, or non-religious figure painting, naturally includes many different groups, of which I will mention a few that, according to Chu Ching-hsüan, were common to the T'ang dynasty:

Hsieh-chên, literally, "true" (chên) "drawing" (hsieh), that is portraits.

¹⁹ See Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 280.

Shih-nü, portraits of, "gentlewomen."

Fêng-su, literally, "folk scenes."

Ku-hsien, literally, "the wise men of antiquity," Confucian philosophers and scholars.

Kau-shih, literally, "great scholars," hermits.

Wu-chiang, literally, "military men."

11. Under the headings *Kung-shih*, the category for architectural pictures, distinctions were made between groups such as *Lóu-t'ai* ("houses and terraces of several stories"), *Ts'un-t'ién* ("villages and fields"), and *Kung-yüan* ("palaces and parks"). Many divisions could be admitted to the category of landscape painting (*shan-shui*). Indeed, several of the different divisions which we find in the literature of painting could readily be grouped together. In Chu Ching-hsüan's list we find such specialties as *Shan-tsê* ("hills and seas"), *Ts'ao-mu* ("plants and trees"), *Sung-shih* ("pines and cliffs"), *Shu-shih* ("trees and cliffs"), *Chu-mu* ("bamboos and trees"), etc. Some of these combinations intrude upon the categories of flowers, trees and other plant groups, often they combine with animal groups as *Hê-chu* ("cranes and bamboos"). Very frequent are combinations taken from the animal world, for example, *Ying-ko* ("hawks and doves"), *ch'üan-t'u* ("dogs and rabbits"), *Chi-t'u* ("chickens and rabbits"), *Yen-t'siau* ("swallows and small birds"), *Fêng-ch'an* ("bees and cicadas"). It is evident that in the majority of these group-subjects two different elements are put together. Such combinations were eternally repeated by the Chinese painters from the T'ang dynasty on. They became in a sense conventional in Chinese, as well as in Japanese art, and left the painter who, particularly in China, had to submit to the traditional prejudices of his public, but little opportunity for the selection of other subjects. Thus the chief emphasis in Chinese painting lay not upon the nature of the subject, but upon the art with which it was executed. Even where the group name implies the elimination of more than one element, as must be the case in the following titles mentioned by Chu Ching-hsüan: *An-ma* ("saddled horses"), *Lü-tzu* ("donkey"), *Shui-niu* ("water-buffalo"), *Ying-hu* ("hawk"), *Chu-chi* ("snipe," literally, "bamboo chicken"), *Mau-êrh* ("house cats"), we must remember that there was an inherited tradition for the arrangement of these figures.

THE HUA-CHIEN

We have now examined the most important sources for the history of Chinese painting to the middle of the twelfth century. Up to that time the principal works on the subject followed one another regularly and systematically. The volumes that we will now consider treat, for the

most part, of the entire history of art although with less detail, but we are dependent upon these from the year 1167 when the *Hua-chi* ends. In the year 1330 there appeared a short résumé, in one volume, under the title *Hua-chien*, by T'ang Hou. The author was an art critic of the early Yuan dynasty,²⁰ whose short and careful characterizations help us to differentiate the important from the unimportant in the earlier periods. But for the painters from 1167 to 1330 we must refer to later works, as for this period the *Hua-chien* contains merely an enumeration of names. A few remarks on the art of foreign nations which was found in this little work correspond with data which can be found in the later *T'u-hui-pau-chien*, and only serves to establish their existence in the year 1330.

THE T'U-HUI-PAU-CHIEN

This *T'u-hui-pau-chien*, in five volumes, which is more detailed and more comprehensive, was published by Hsia Wên-yen toward the end of the Yuan dynasty in 1368. T'au-tsung-I, who is the author of an encyclopedia²¹ of great importance for the study of the Mongolian era, and calls himself the friend of Hsia Wên-yen, describes for us on personal knowledge the education of this art historian and adds his opinion of the painters discussed in the work. According to him the *T'u-hui-pau-chien* contained biographical information for the period beginning with the earliest times up to 1275 (the end of the Sung dynasty) on 1,280 artists, to which we must add the names of thirty Tartar painters who as foreigners stood outside the national art. The period beginning with the Mongol supremacy up to the publishing of the book (1365) is represented by 200 additional names, so that the total is 1,500 masters (*Nêng-hua-chê*, "those that can paint"). The *T'u-hui-pau-chien* is an important source, especially for the period of the Southern Sung dynasty, the period of Tartar supremacy in Northern China, and that of the Mongolian supremacy, for it is the work nearest in time to the century and a half between 1227 and 1366. At the end of this period the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) with its numerous writers begins, so that it is possible to check up Hsia Wên-yen in many later manuscripts. But even for the earliest periods this work of the Mongol era contains many things omitted by the older writers. The *T'u-hui-pau-chien* is important for the European student, as all the unnecessary details for the older period are omitted, and only the most important artists are discussed. In order not to repeat mere hearsay, the author gives a list in his first book of the names of the ancient painters up to the T'ang dynasty whose work had not come down to posterity. He contents himself with their mere enumeration,

²⁰ See *Cho-kêng-lu*.

²¹ *Cho-kêng-lu*, Chap. 18, p. 8.

referring the reader for further details to the older source, the *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi*. We therefore find in the second book, after the elimination of all ballast, that the information is confined to the really notable masters of antiquity. As these correspond with the names that are again and again repeated in the history of Chinese art, I will here repeat his list up to the time of the great classic painter Wu Tao-tze:

	DYNASTY	CENTURY
Ts'au Pu-hsing.....	Wu	3rd
Wei Hsieh.....	Tsin	4th
Ku K'ai-chih.....	Tsin	4th
Shih Tau-shê.....	Tsin	4th
Hsieh Chih.....	Sung	5th
Lu T'an-wei.....	Sung	5th
Chang Sêng-yu.....	Liang	6th
Ku Yeh-wang.....	Ch'en	6th
Chan Tze-ch'ien.....	Sui	6th
Tung Po-jên	Sui	6th
Chêng Fa-shih.....	Sui	6th
Yen Li-tê.....	Tang	7th
Yen Li-pên.....	Tang	7th
Chang Hsiao-shih.....	Tang	7th
Fan Ch'ang-shou.....	Tang	7th
Ho Ch'ang-shou.....	Tang	7th
Wei-ch'ih I-sêng.....	Tang	7th
Wu Tao-tze.....	Tang	8th

These are the names of the painters of the oldest epoch to whom the history of Chinese art ascribes a traceable influence upon posterity. Everything that antedates the time of Ts'au Pu-hsing is partly legendary and doubtless for this reason is set aside by the practical Hsia Wên-yen. He has likewise omitted the names of famous people who painted as a secondary interest, and this helps to simplify the otherwise burdensome accumulation of material.

The painters of the Sung dynasty are treated more comprehensively, the North Sung painters in the third book, the South Sung in the fourth, whereas the short period of Mongolian supremacy fills the whole fifth book. At the end of this book are some interesting comments on the painting of Japan, of the Uigurs, the Tanguts, the Tibetans and Koreans, some

of which seem to have been taken from the older work, the *Hua-chien*. The most interesting of these comments is the one on Korea: "The Koreans can make very fine pictures of Kuan-yin. Their style comes from that of Wei-chih I-sêng, very lively in motion and exceedingly fine in technique." As Wei-ch'ih I-sêng was a native of Khoten,²² this allusion to his presence and influence in Korea may explain in part the purely Indian and quite un-Chinese characteristics that are found in early Japanese art. According to their own tradition, the art of the Japanese is based on that of Korea,²³ and this fact, together with the presence in Korea of an Indian painter, would explain how Japan arrived in its early days at achieving a Buddhistic art that was not Chinese.

Contrary to the friendly praises of the encyclopedist T'au-tsung-I, the critics of the great catalogue of the Imperial Library in Peking²⁴ have much fault to find with the *T'u-hui-pau-chien*. They rightly say that the author gave very little attention to chronology, a point upon which other Chinese authors are very careful. As a result the entire period between the T'ang and Sung dynasties, called Wu-tai or the Five Dynasties, is suppressed and its painters, whose works comprise one of the most important periods in the development of Chinese art, are placed among the Sung painters, so that painters like Li-yü and the great Hsü-Hsi (tenth century) are discussed after Li Lung-mien, who belongs to the eleventh century. Aside from the short notice of biographical dates, he adds no characterizations of the styles of the epoch-making masters. This omission, however, is amply met by the very detailed later literature.

Under the Ming dynasty the enlarged edition of the *T'u-hui-pau-chien* was issued by the first assistant in the astronomical institute Han Ang, and treats of the 170 painters that are found in the first 150 years of the Ming dynasty. This edition, which was probably published in the year 1519, contains names such as Lü Chi (1496-1576) and other painters of the Chia-ting period (1522-1567), so that the critics of the great catalogue rightly conclude that there were later insertions. With the original first five books the *T'u-hui-pau-chien* the sources for the history of painting up to the end of the Mongol dynasty (1368) are closed. This and the other works mentioned are the most important of all the ancient art histories. During the Ming period art criticism de-

²² *T'u-hui-pau-chien*, Chap. 2, p. 5.

²³ Gonse, *l'Art Japonais*, Vol. I, p. 166. "Et à vrai dire, cette influence de la Corée, dont on parle si souvent sans en préciser le caractère, nous paraît être, en tant qu'intermédiaire, le vrai nœud de la question. Il paraît prouvé aujourd'hui que le presque île coréenne, conquise par le bouddhisme, a été bien longtemps réfractaire à l'influence chinoise, et que cette race singulière, tout a fait différente à l'origine de la race mongolienne, ayant ses mœurs, sa civilisation, même ses arts, a conservé jusqu'à une époque relativement récente, son autonomie. La Corée a donc pu et a dû avoir une grande influence sur le Japon bien avant celle de la Chine."

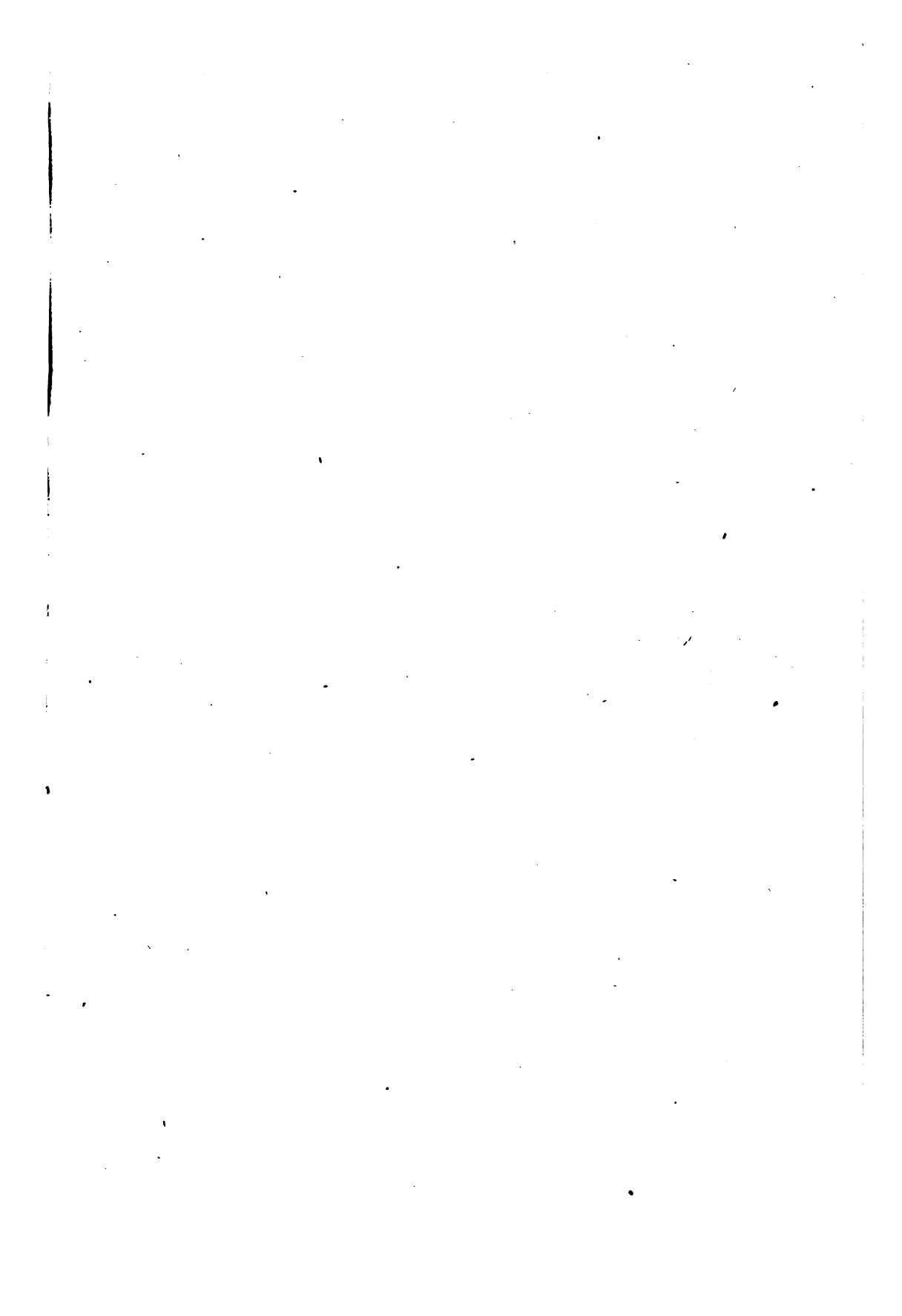
²⁴ *Tsung-mu* Chap. 112, p. 47.

veloped to such an extent that even the officials of the Imperial Library at Peking have made no attempt to collect the entire literature on the subject. The interest in the history and criticism of art has continued up to the present time and is still a popular subject with China's student-army.

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